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ABSTRACT

An annotated bibliography is presented in essay form of sources concerning Brazil's literacy program for adults, MOBRAL (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetizacao), and its implications for the country's economy. General sources on literacy training are followed by works concerning Brazil's political system. Descriptions of the MOBRAL program, mostly government publications and newspaper articles, are listed. Sources with a sociological approach to education in Latin America are followed by publications concerning the effects of literacy education on the economy. Sources on the political involvements of MOBRAL and its predecessor, Movimento Educacao de Base, are presented. The concluding sections present books and articles by Paulo Freire and published commentary on his work. (KM)

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LITERACY TRAINING AND THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY
AN ESSAY ON SOURCES

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LITERACY TRAINING AND THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY
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Literacy programs for adults have traditionally been subordinate interests of governments; today this situation is changing somewhat in light of development plans being written in national ministries. There are a number of areas in social and economic development which depend upon whether or not sufficiently large numbers of adults can be educated to respond to development needs. This applies, for example, to the needs of checking over-rapid population growth and to programs of self-help intended to effect a more equitable distribution of wealth in an expanding economy. In a similar development context the present government of Brazil MOBILAL (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização) program comes to light.

Some general but old sources on literacy training are found in various UNESCO documents, such as UNESCO, Education Clearing House, Occasional Papers in Education Series, No. 5 (Paris: UNESCO, 1950) and UNESCO, "Literacy Teaching: A Selected Bibliography," in Educational Studies and Documents, No. 18 (Paris: UNESCO, 1956). A work by Sir Charles Jeffries, Illiteracy: A World Problem (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1967) is more up to date and useful in describing and comparing literacy programs around the world. Of still more recent date is a series published every other year by UNESCO, Progress Achieved in Literacy Throughout the World (Paris: UNESCO, 1968,

1970 and 1972) for the periods 1965-1967, 1967-1969 and 1969-1971. These last documents thoroughly treat the development and administration of literacy programs in UNESCO member states, enabling a comparison not only of statistics but also of laws and decrees dealing with literacy programs. A critique of one of these UNESCO publications is found in John Bowers' "The Progress of Functional Literacy: Report on a UNESCO Report" in Community Development Journal, Vol. 5 (July 1970). Literacy training as part of development strategy is the topic of a very useful book by the economist H.M. Phillips, Literacy and Development (Paris: UNESCO, 1970). The case of Brazil is surveyed in Sergio Guerra Duarte's Por Que Existem Analfabetos no Brasil? (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira S.A., 1963). A general study delimiting research on illiteracy in Latin America is found in Marquardt and Cortright's "Review of Contemporary Research on Literacy and Adult Education in Latin America" in Latin American Research Review, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Summer, 1968), which is at once an informative and directing study.

Since the developmentalist attitude of the present Brazilian government is its most frequently articulated rationale, an analysis of MOBRAL must begin within the context of the political economy. The socialization and institutional system of the current positivist regime are the main topics of a recent book written by Ronald M. Schneider, The Political System of Brazil: Emergence of a "Modernizing" Authoritarian

Regime, 1964-1970 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), clearly delineating the leadership's developmentalist ideology and supported by a very fine bibliography on the military and the repression of Church and student groups who have been the regime's most vocal opponents. For background on political and economic factors shaping national policies prior to 1964 there are books by Thomas Skidmore (Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy; New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), John F.W. Dulles (Unrest in Brazil: Political-Military Crises, 1955-1964; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), and more recently that of Philippe C. Schmitter (Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971). A series of essays edited by Riordan Roet in Brazil in the Sixties (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), provides a useful supplement of recent date. F.H. Cardoso's article "El modelo político brasileño" in Desarrollo Económico (July 1971-March 1972, pp. 217-247) deals directly with the development program at some length.

Descriptions of the MOBRL program may be found in government documents and press releases; few descriptions have as yet been published in book form. Of importance to the establishment of MOBRL and the definition of the illiteracy problem are Decree numbers 57,895 (February 1966), 61313 and 63258, and Law number 5379 of December 1967. Brazilian Embassy documents provide the next best source, including such mimeos as "MOBRL--The Brazilian Adult Literacy Programme"

(November 1971). The Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture has also published brochures such as "MOBRAL: Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização" (Rio de Janeiro, 1972). One very excellent and recent summary of the program and its anticipated effects is found in Mario Henrique Simonsens's discussion of Brazil's future economic potential, in his Brasil 2002 (Rio de Janeiro: APEC Editora, S.A., 1972). Articles of the press are an important source because they show the trend in government policy through time. The following articles in one way or another present aspects of the MOBRAL program: "Government Plans Educational Growth in 1969,"¹ Jornal do Brasil, January 1 1969, p. 18; "Paper Reveals Aspects of Education Panorama," O Globo, January 30 1969, pp. 8, 10, 13; "National Illiteracy," Jornal do Brasil, February 27 1969, p. 12; "Education Minister Discusses Problems," O Globo, January 28 1970, p. 19; "Education Minister Tells of Plans," O Globo, February 4 1970, p. 10; "Educacao e Cultura na Mensagem Presidencial," Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagogicos, Vol. 53, No. 117, January-March 1970; "Government

¹Since there do not exist indices to the Brazilian periodicals I have used the Transdex: Bibliography and Index to the United States Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) Translations (New York: C.C. M. Information Corporation) in order to locate important articles dealing in one way or another with MOBRAL. Published every year or so, this index refers to non-classified articles translated by JPRS. The English word titles used by JPRS are those used in our bibliography because we do not have easy access to many of the periodicals cited. Unfortunately the JPRS indices only go back to 1967-68.

Given Priority to Health and Education," O Globo, March 18 1970, pp. 6-10; "Interview with Padre Felipe Sportorno," Jornal do Brasil, April 20 1971; "Literacy Drive," O Globo, May 8 1970, p. 3; "Literacy Campaign Incentives Announced," Correio Brasiliense, September 9 1970; "Education Minister Scores Continuous Socialization," O Estado de São Paulo, December 1970; "Jarbas Passarinho Discusses Education Plans," O Estado de São Paulo, January 19 1971, p. 24; "Passarinho Discusses Accomplishments in Education," O Globo, March 2 1971, p. 5; "Passarinho Outlines New School Organization," O Globo, March 4 1971, p. 12; "Ministry of Education Work in 1970 Reported," O Globo, July 3 1971, p. 9; "Minister Explains Educational Reform Goals," Folha de São Paulo, August 5 1971, p. 21; "MOBRAL: A Tecnologia da Alfabetização," Manchete, No. 1049 (June 3 1972), pp. 125-126.

A sociological analysis of MOBRAL is well introduced by George M Foster's Traditional Cultures: And the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), where he discusses at length cultural tensions created by directed social change. The tension between community and education in Latin America is the topic of an article "Community and Education" by J.R. Luna in Américas, Vol. 24 (June 1972), pp. 20-4. Thomas J. La Belle's edited Education and Development: Latin America and the Caribbean (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972) is an anthology of thirty-seven articles by prominent Latin Americanists defining the role of

education in the development process. Somewhat similarly F.B. Waisanen and Hideya Kumata take on the issue of modernization as a beneficiary of the education process in their article "Education, Functional Literacy, and Participation in Development," found in International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 1 (March 1972), pp. 21-35. In M. Wolfe's "Educación, estructuras sociales y desarrollo en América Latina," found in América Latina, Vol. 10 (July-September 1967), pp. 15-40, the cross-cultural comparison of Waisanen and Kumata is given a Latin American focus. Perhaps the most thorough general analysis of recent date dealing with the sociological effects of education policies is found in an edition of Tiers-Monde dedicated entirely to this general subject, "Éducation et développement--Aspects sociologiques des politiques d'éducation," Tiers-Monde, Vol. 13 (January-March 1972), pp. 1-206. Two other articles of interest are A.L. Peaslee's "Education's Role in Development," in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 17 (April 1969), pp. 293-318 and R.W. Cox's "Education and Development," in International Organization, Vol. 22 (Winter 1968), pp. 310-331.

Given the developmentalists orientation of the Brazilian government it would seem apparent that the present regime seeks to achieve economic benefit through their investment in education. The classic study on the rate of return to investment in education is that of Theodore Schultz, in his book The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University

Press, 1963). Important predecessor studies are those of Burton Weisbrod's "The Valuation of Human Capital," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 69, No. 5 (1961), pp. 425-431 and Gary Becker's "Investment in Human Capital: A Theoretical Analysis," Journal of Political Economy, Supplement 70-5, Part 2 (1962), pp. 9-49. This trend of thinking in the economic evaluation of education investment is summarized in John Vaizey's "The Present State of Economics of Education," International Social Science Journal, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1962), pp. 619-633. The extent to which education increases productivity is the topic of a work by F. Welch, "Education in Production," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 68, No. 1 (January-February 1970). Theodore W. Schultz' "The Rate of Return in Allocating Investment Resources to Education," Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer, 1967) is a new treatment of the subject by the man who originally developed it. Many useful readings are also brought together in M.J. Bowman, et. al, ed., Readings in the Economics of Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1968) and as summarized in Mark Blaug's An Introduction to the Economics of Education (London: A. Lane, Penquin Press, 1970). The redistribution of income effected by education is an important subtopic dealt with in Jacob Mincer's "Investment in Human Capital and Personal Income Distribution," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Fall 1958), p. 281-302. The most recent theoretical study is that of Hans Henrich Thias and Martin Carnoy, Cost-Benefit Analysis in Education: A Case Study of Kenya

(Washington: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; distributed by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1972).

The economic analysis of education in Brazil is introduced by a study of R.J. Havinghurst and J.R. Moreira's Society and Education in Brazil (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), in which the authors show the increased demands placed on education by cultural, political and industrial growth and go on to make a statistical analysis of education's relation to economic growth. Two works by Carlos Langoni, "A Study in Economic Growth: The Brazilian Case," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970) and "A Rentabilidade Social dos Investimentos em Educação no Brasil," in Ensaio Econômico: Homenagem a Otávio Gonçalves de Bulhões (Rio de Janeiro: APEC Editôra, 1971), provide the most up-to-date data and rate of return analysis we have on Brazilian education today. His work is critiqued by Cláudio M. Castro in "Investimento em Educação no Brasil: Comparação de três estudos," in Pesquisas e Planejamento, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1971), pp. 141-152. These two authors have also made additional comments on this subject in Pesquisas e Planejamento, Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1971), pp. 381-402. Indispensable human conditions for continuous economic development are the topics of P.N. Damemann's "Problèmes de ressources humaines au Brésil," in Revue Internationale du Travail (December 1966), pp. 639-661. Since most newly educated adults will be expected to find employment in agriculture it is relevant to sight João Bosco Pinto's

"Alfabetização e Desenvolvimento Econômico da Agricultura Brasileira," in Sociologia, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 49-64. The economic model for education planning is presented by P. Novaes in "Um modelo econômico para planejamento da educação," Síntese Política Econômica Social (July-September 1966), pp. 26-49. The best and most recent summary is that of Mario Henrique Simonsen, Brasil 2002, as already cited.

Statements are made to the effect that MOBRAL is the only effective way of integrating the formerly illiterate adult into the life of the Brazilian nation. This raises the political dimension of the MOBRAL program in a much more explicit manner. In order to subject this dimension of Brazilian thinking to some kind of analysis, a comparison is necessary, one which would contrast international approaches to illiteracy training and one which would at the same time take into consideration the uniqueness of the Brazilian situation. This can be carried out through comparison: first, a comparison with existing programs in other countries and second, a comparison with predecessor programs in the self-same Brazil. An international comparison of MOBRAL can be made through use of various UNESCO documents already cited. Of particular interest are the three issues of UNESCO, Progress Achieved in Literacy Throughout the World (Paris: UNESCO).

To effect a comparison which acknowledges the uniqueness of the Brazilian illiteracy problem, it is necessary to survey the literature of the previous literacy program, Movimento

Educação de Base, a program directed by the Brazilian Catholic Church with federal government financing. For a background on Church activism, see Emanuel de Kadt's Catholic Radicals in Brazil (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); the same author has written an article on the same subject in Claudio Veliz (ed.), The Politics of Conformity in Latin America (London: Oxford University Press, 1967). Some commentary on the program can be found in the Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira, such as Vol. 24 (1964), especially p. 210ff. Also of importance are the Movement's MEB Annual Reports. The program is succinctly appraised in "MEB: Prêmio Reza Pahlavi de Alfabetização," in Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos, Vol. 51, No. 113 (January-March 1969), pp. 104-110. For background, the peasant union movement is important because it is tied with the Catholic social movement, including Movimento Educação de Base. See for example Mary E. Wilkie's A Report on Rural Syndicates in Pernambuco (Rio de Janeiro: Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences, 1964) and Cynthia N. Hewitt's essay in Henry A. Landsberger (ed.), Latin American Peasant Movements (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), and finally the most complete work is that of Joseph Page, The Revolution That Never Was: Northeast Brazil, 1955-1964 (New York: Grossman, 1972). See also Riordan Roett's The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Brazilian Northeast (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972).

The educational philosophy behind the Movimento Educação de Base is that of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. In 1964 Paulo Freire was stripped of his political rights by the regime that replaced President Goulart because his pedagogy was considered radical and Communist. Paulo Freire eventually went to Chile where he was influential in the literacy program there in progress as part of Chilean agrarian reform. Since then he has taught in the United States and worked as head of the World Council of Church's literacy campaigns throughout the world. His work is particularly important to study if we are to make a comparison with the present MOBREAL program, which in part derives its inspiration from Paulo Freire-- although in a very selective manner.

Paulo Freire's first book on adult literacy training is that published in Brazil in 1967: Educação como prática da liberdade (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1967); translated editions appeared in Caracas ("Nuevo Orden" Ediciones, 1967) and Santiago, Chile (ICIRA,² 1969). While in Chile Paulo Freire wrote several important theoretical works as well as a number of descriptions of the literacy program then in progress in Chile. For example, there are the following articles published by ICIRA: Actividades desarrolladas en el año de 1968 (1969); Aspectos del desarrollo de la comunidad en Chile (1968);

²Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria, an institution of the Chilean government and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

El asentamiento como una totalidad (1968); El compromiso del profesional con la sociedad (1968); El rol del trabajador social en el proceso del cambio (1968); Investigación y metodología de la investigación del "tema generador" - reducción y codificación temáticas (1968); La alfabetización de adultos: crítica de su visión ingenua; comprensión de su visión crítica (1968); La concepción "bancaria" de la educación y la des-humanización, la concepción problematizadora de la educación y la humanización (1968); Sobre la acción cultural, ensayos escogidos (1969).³ Paulo Freire's major exposition in English is that entitled Pedagogy for the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), although good summaries are available in Thomas G. Sanders, "The Paulo Freire Method," in West Coast South America Series, Vol. 15, No. 1 (June 1968) and my own work, Philip R. Fletcher, Paulo Freire and Concientización in Latin America (unpublished monograph, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University, 1970).⁴ Book reviews of Paulo Freire's book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, may be found in America, Vol. 124 (March 13 1971), p. 272; Library Journal, Vol. 96 (April 1 1971), p. 1261; Science, Vol. 172 (May 14 1971), p. 672; Canadian Forum, Vol. 51 (June 1 1971), p. 29; Christian Century, Vol. 88 (June 2 1971), p. 701; Saturday Review, Vol. 54

³These ICIRA documents are available at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

⁴Available at the Stanford Libraries, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

(June 19 1971), p. 54. Other commentary on Paulo Freire's educational methodology may be found in Ernani Maria Fiori's Aprender a decir su palabra: El método de alfabetización del profesor Paulo Freire (translated by Jorge Mellado; Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968) and in Lauro de Oliviera Lima's El método Freire (translated by Jorge Mellado; Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, date of publication unknown). One of Paulo Freire's works carried in a European journal is his article "Éducation, prazis de liberté," in Communautés (January-June 1968), pp. 3-29.

More recent work on Paulo Freire's methodology is found in "Elite e massa," in Vozes (Petropolis: Revista Católica de Cultura; May 1970), pp. 253-319; "Alphabetisation, conscientisation, éducation: l'oeuvre meneé par Paulo Freire," in IDOC Internazionale (August 15-September 1 1970), pp. 29-63; and "Special Brésil 70," Croissance de jeunes Nations (Paris, France: November 1970). Paulo Freire's framework of cultural dependency is very ably handled in Alberto Silva's "La pédagogie de Paulo Freire," Études (December 1970), pp. 656-672. Some additional relevant commentary on cultural deprivation and foreign influences affecting the relationship of underdevelopment and literature (including illiteracy) is found in Antônio Candido, "Sous-developpement et littérature en Amérique Latine," in Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1970), pp. 618-640. A comparison among these works enables discernment of the MOBREAL movement's socio-political objectives.

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